1: Hart & Pilling E-5 (1928-1954) 1960
OI20 Tiwi OI20

Tiklauila" or "My wife is a Munupula woman"; a mourner would say, "He died when visiting the Munupula and therefore we will have to go to Munupi for the funeral"; an old man would reminisce about being brought up as a youth by his mother's brother, who was a Turupula, and the good times he had in Turupi; and another would recount details of big battles between the Munupula and the Malauila. All of these were band names or band territories. The nine bands thus acted, psychologically, as small tribelets or semisovereign groups, since it was with one of them that every Tiwi most closely identified in his day-to-day life on the islands. It is only when, as nowadays, he leaves the islands to go to work for the white man in Darwin that he has to think of himself as a Tiwi, since there he mingles with men of other tribes. Even then, work and residence in the white man's town does not entirely obliterate band identification. A Tiklauila in Darwin prefers to work with and to consort in the evenings with other Tiklauila, and Malauila with Malauila.[8]

Because of certain peculiar features of Tiwi domestic life, to be discussed below, it is difficult to sum up the Tiwi band in any simple formula. People, especially women, changed their band residence frequently in the course of their lives, and being born into a band did not at all require permanent residence with that band, either for males or for females. Thus the district (for example, Tiklaru or Malau) was a firm, fixed, known quantity, but the people who "owned" the district (for example, Tiklauila or Malauila) were a flexible and constantly shifting collection of individuals.

The territorial boundaries between bands were clear and well known to everybody, though they were not the sharp lines on a map such as we regard as essential for a frontier or a land boundary. All pieces of country—clumps of jungle, stretches of grassland, sections of thick woods—had names. One such piece of country, say a thickly wooded area, belonged to one band, while the more open country that began where the woods thinned out belonged to another; thus the boundary was not a sharp line but a transitional zone—perhaps of several miles—where the change from trees to open savannah became noticeable, with the band territories thus fusing into one another rather than being separated by sharp lines. The Tiwi, so to speak, thought of the landscape as a sort of spectrum where a man moved gradually out of one district into another as he passed from one type of horizon to the next. Since rivers, and even Apsley Strait, a very narrow arm of the sea separating Melville from Bathurst Island, usually have similar types of vegetation on *both* sides or banks, none of the island rivers nor Apsley Strait was a boundary or frontier between bands. The Mandiimbula, predominantly a Melville Island

[8] In the early 1930's the situation at the Government Hospital in Darwin offered a good illustration of this. The hospital authorities said they gave preference for houseboy jobs to "Melville Islanders because of their greater intelligence and reliability." In point of fact, some of the younger Tiklauila had established a monopoly on hospital jobs and no Tiwi other than a Tiklauila was ever hired there. The whites thought they were hiring Tiwi but the Tiklauila saw to it that they hired only Tiklauila and felt no vestige of obligation to other Tiwi to help them get these desirable jobs. The alleged greater intelligence of the islanders was undoubtedly due to the fact that the Tiklauila, having had a Catholic mission in their territory since 1911, were more used to white requirements.

1: Hart & Pilling E-5 (1928-1954) 1960
OI20 Tiwi OI20

Not only did many people come to such a funeral to express their kinship with, and pay their respects to, the deceased, but as mentioned above, many men with disputes to settle or fights to pick let such matters ride until the next big funeral was called and then took advantage of the large crowd to provide the necessary witnesses for the transaction of the outstanding legal business. Gatherings of many households for purely legal affairs, without funerals or *kolema* ceremonial as the main *raison d'etre* for the gathering, were comparatively rare and when they did occur they were usually called by one man, to settle one case only, and hence did not promote the attendance of very many households. Similarly, the funerals of most women and of younger and therefore less important men drew together at most ten or twelve households and a few other individuals, so that the crowd was usually not above one hundred people at the most. A single *ad hoc* legal duel, even when an episode in a long-drawn out and notorious dispute, seldom drew more than this number. Duels always attracted some spectators who came for the excitement, even though not personally involved, provided of course they were camped somewhere in the vicinity.

This second type of collective gathering, of which the smaller funerals and the single duels were the main occasions, might then require the attendance of a household head, accompanied by some or all of his household members, perhaps five or six times a year. These gatherings would each last less than forty-eight hours, and since the people the household head met at them would mostly be people of his own band or of closely adjoining bands, the excitement of seeing unfamiliar faces—people not seen for over a year perhaps—would be absent. We may reckon that attendance at these smaller, more localized gatherings, and the participation in group activity which they entailed, took up two more weeks, all told, out of the yearly round. When these two weeks are added to the six or seven already estimated for the time spent by a busy public man at the large gatherings, we find that even the busiest and most gregarious senior elders spent less than ten weeks out of the fifty-two in collective activity outside their immediate households.

To complete the list of occasions which called for joint activity by the members of several households, we must include the joint kangaroo hunt. This activity was very localized and very spasmodic, occurring only when and where conditions were right and somebody felt sufficiently energetic to organize it. Much of the Tiwi country is a mixture of dense scrub and relatively open savannah; kangaroo are relatively easy to hunt in the latter but very hard to get near in the denser types of vegetation. The native method of hunting was based on getting as close as possible to the animal before it saw or heard the hunter. If it detected the hunter, it fled, and no Tiwi in his senses ever threw a spear or a throwing stick at a moving kangaroo.[8] Only when the animal was standing still and the hunter was close enough to aim carefully at a vital part was the spear thrown. At certain seasons of the year, particularly after the end of the wet and early in the dry season, many sections of good kangaroo country gave very poor hunting returns because the grass had become

[8] The up-and-down movement of a hopping kangaroo in flight makes it an extraordinarily difficult target even for skilled white hunters armed with shotguns or rifles.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

INTRODUCTION

MELVILLE ISLAND (Fig. 1), the research field of the 1954 National Geographic expedition, is, with the exception of Tasmania, the largest of the Australian islands. Eighty miles from east to west, and seventy from north to south, it rises barely five hundred feet above the sea. Its level surface is covered with a monotonous grey-green forest of eucalypts and acacias, whose monotony is broken only by the steep cliffs and sandy beaches of the coastline, the salt-water creeks which cut deeply into the northern coasts, and the almost impenetrable mangrove swamps that line those waterways.

Between Melville Island and the mainland are the swiftly running tideways, the reefs and shoals of the Clarence and Dundas Straits, tideways so dangerous that, before the installation of a series of flashing light-buoys, no ocean-going ship would attempt to navigate their broken waters in the darkness.

Abel Tasman, in 1644, was the first European to sail along the east, north, and west coasts of Melville Island and the adjacent Bathurst Island,[1] naming Cape Van Diemen and Van Diemen Gulf after the Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies. As Tasman's account of that journey was lost, we do not know whether he actually landed on the islands, or only saw them in the distance.

Sir Philip King circumnavigated the two islands in 1818 and in 1824 the British Government, both to prevent the French from settling along the northern coasts of Australia and to protect British commerce from the rapidly expanding Dutch trade, established a military post at Fort Dundas, on the Apsley Straits. After five unhappy years the authorities moved the garrison to Port Essington, on the Coburg Peninsula, on the mainland, but not before both Sir Gordon Bremer (12th Nov. 1824) and Major Campbell (1834, pp. 135–60) had made some excellent observations on aboriginal graves, burial poles, bark paintings and canoes.

In the early days of this century, a buffalo hunter, Joe C. Cooper, having gained the confidence of the warlike people of Melville Island, known as the Tiwi tribe, established a camp near Cockle Point (Fig. 1) on the south-western corner of Melville Island. There he earned a living shooting buffaloes for their hides, buffaloes whose forbears had escaped from the settlement at Fort Dundas.

[1] Melville and Bathurst Islands, separated by the narrow Apsley Straits, are both a geographic and cultural unit.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958

OI20 Tiwi OI20

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[516]
[137]

B

D

[142]
[302]

A

C

PLATE 44. *The Kulama Ceremony*

A, Chanting Kulama Songs; B, Placing Kulama Yams in Oven; C, Ritual before collecting Kulama Yam; D, The Kulama Yam.

[p. 128 B]

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

881 led by the *Mikinatrinas*, carrying the baskets, followed by the *Mikinatras*, the *Mikiatarimas*, and the *Mikingulas*. No *kulama* woman accompanied this party.

As the *kulama* men entered the jungle they separated, each searching for vines which indicated the presence of the yam.[20] Before digging, however, the [824] [753] *kulama* men, softly calling "Oom-oom", gently patted the ground to wake up the yams, for, should any yam get a fright, its spirit, becoming annoyed, would make everyone ill with the *kulama* sickness. When digging the yams, the men were most careful not to break even one of the fine roots (Pl. 44D).

[821] On filling in the holes, the men again made the thunder call, "Oom-oom", which, they said, would cause more rain to fall before the day was over. One aboriginal accidentally broke a *kulama* yam while digging it. Instantly, he was on his feet, and, with the broken yam in his palm, dodged in and out among the trees, to escape the spirit of sickness released by the angry yam. After a few minutes, however, he returned, placed the broken yam carefully in the basket with the rest, and resumed his digging. His companions said that it was fortunate that he had only damaged the yam slightly, otherwise, its spirit would have made not only the careless aboriginal, but all of the *kulama* people ill.

When sufficient yams were collected, the party returned to camp in the same order as they went out, i.e., *Mikinatrinas*, *Mikinatras*, *Mikiatarimas* and *Mikingulas*. The *Mikinatrinas* carried the yams to the foot of a blood-wood tree, called the *wuringalata*, cleared the grass from around the base and, taking the yams from the basket, placed them on the ground. They were covered with leaves by the female initiates, the *Mikinatriningas*.

(4) *The Preparation of the Ceremonial Ground*

In the late afternoon, the *kulama* men and the male initiates, excluding the *Marukunumi* and the *Wadjeniatis*, prepared the ceremonial ground, the *milimika*.

372 881 The men walked toward an open space in the forest, and with low cries, beat the ground with sticks, while the leader, pulling up a tuft of grass, threw it into the air. At the place where it fell, the men dug a small circle, the *tumarapi* (navel), in which the yams were to be cooked. Then, sitting down, the men pushed the sand and grass outwards with their feet until the *milimika*, about fifteen feet in diameter, was cleared and surrounded by a low mound of earth and grass.

[222] [197] [20] The *kulama* yam (*Dioscorea sativa*, variety *rotunda*) (Pl. 44D), is about the size of a hen's egg and covered with hairs similar to a beard. It is held in the palm of the hand until it is placed carefully in the bark basket.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

533 539 881 (e) "The salt water (sea), brings plenty of drift-wood up on the beach for our fires."

(f) "The *mukwall* (shark) killed a stingray."

(g) "The boat sails fast and the waves are beating its sides."

At approximately 8.30 p.m. the chanting ceased and the aborigines retired to their camps.

(6) *The Lighting of the Ceremonial Fire*

[137] About 6.30 the next morning, the *Mikinatringa* women collected pieces of termite mound and put them on the top of the sticks for the fire which had been piled over the oven, the *tumarapi*. This fire could be lit by any man above the grade of *Mikinatrina*. Whilst the fire was burning down, the *Mikingulas* walked around it, and sang a few *kulama* songs, only one of which was recorded.

[177] (1) "When I see the shining iron of the new schoolhouse, I think how my children will go to school and wear boots."[81]

881 By 9.30 a.m. after everyone had had a meal, most of the aborigines, including several children, painted themselves in red and made their way to the swamp to take part in the ritual of bringing the *kulama* yams from the water, to the *milimika*.

On reaching the swamp, the leader took the yams from the pad of grass under the water, placed them carefully in the basket, with a bundle of rushes plucked from a nearby swamp on top, then, putting the basket on his shoulder, carried it to the *milimika* and stood it beside the fire "to warm up the yams".

881 533 539 [177] The *Mikingulas*, walking anti-clockwise as before, chanted another series of songs.

(a) "I went to Native Affairs (Darwin), drew out £10 (with which to gamble) and bought a pack of playing cards."[82]

Striding around the ring with two spears in one hand and a throwing stick in the other, the same man sang.

(b) "I have many spears. If the white people were not here, I would kill you all."

881 765 At the end of the song, the performer called out the name of his dead father, striking himself on the head with his throwing stick to indicate his sorrow. The people on the outside of the ring cried in sympathy.

[185] [81] A parent's hope in a changing society that his children will live at a higher social level that the one which he himself occupies.

[82] A number of the younger Melville Islanders work for extended terms in Darwin, periodically returning to their homeland to take part in the ceremonies.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

CHAPTER VI

The Secular Bark Paintings

×532 THE designs used by the Tiwi on many of their secular bark paintings are strongly influenced by those employed in decorating the poles and the large bark baskets of the *pukamuni* ceremony. For instance, all of the patterns on Pl. 49 would be similar to those used on a burial pole, while a number of the paintings of the totemic places, for example, those shown on Pl. 10, have the same fundamental designs as those on the *pukamuni* baskets.

As mentioned previously, one of the remarkable aspects of the art of the [171] Tiwi is that it is highly formalized, whereas, on the mainland, only fourteen miles away, across the dangerous waterway of Dundas Strait, the art is fully representational. This difference in the art forms of the Tiwi and that of the aborigines of the adjacent mainland is an excellent example of how a natural barrier can isolate one culture from the influence of another.

1. TOPOGRAPHY

×532 133 ●137 The obverse side of a large *pukamuni* basket (Pl. 49A, B), illustrates the trees and shrubs of Cape Van Diemen, arranged in a decorative pattern, and on the reverse side (Pl. 49C, D), the natural features at Imilu, in the same locality.

Cape Van Diemen

On Pl. 49A, B, the series of rectangles at *a*, on the top of the basket, represent a forest of stringybark trees, and the groups of vertical and sloping lines at *k*, *k* (bottom), many bloodwood trees. The vertical lines, *f*, *f*, etc., are also stringybarks and the horizontal lines, *c*, *c*, etc., bloodwood trees.

The many circles, *d*, *d*, etc., are *pukamuni* arm ornaments, *palmatjinas* (Pl. 31E, F); the cross-hatching in rectangles *e*, *e*, etc. (upper) are spider webs, and the dots at *b*, *b*, etc., black and red seeds of a jungle vine lying on the ground.

Imilu

On Pl. 49C, D, the circles *a*, *a*, etc., in the border, represent the many hives of wild bees in the trees at Imilu, and the intervening panels, *f*, *f*, etc., red

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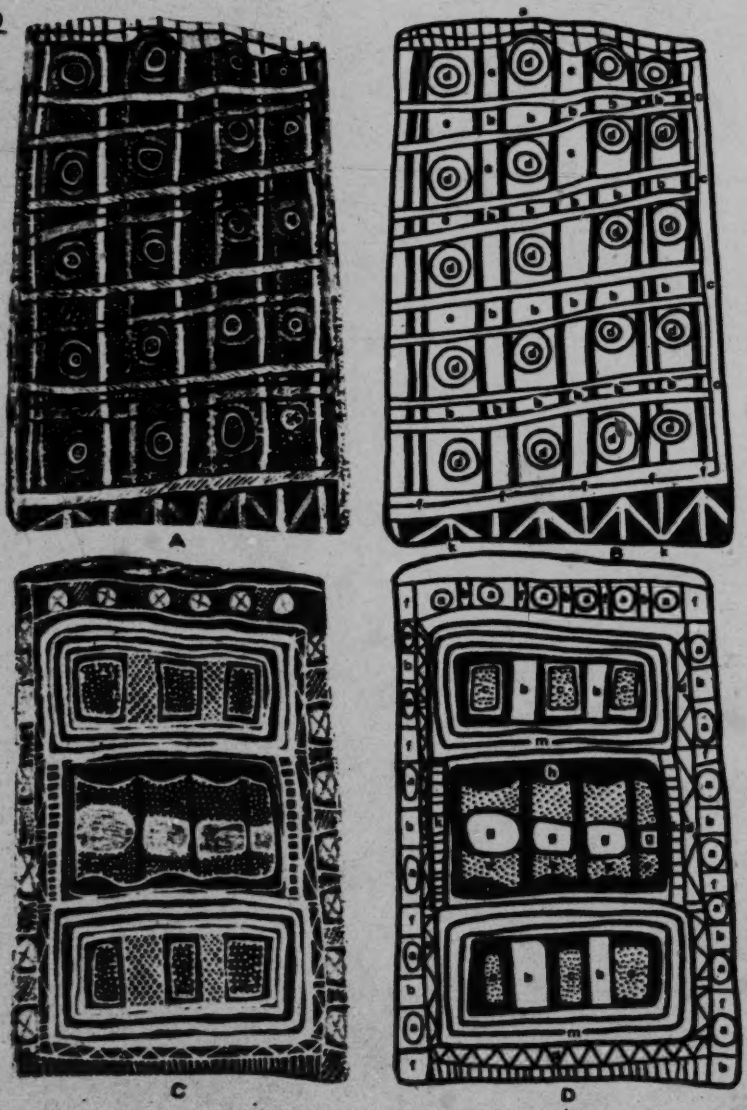

PLATE 49. *Secular Bark Paintings*
A, B, Topography, Cape Van Diemen; C, D, Topography, Imilu.

[p. 160A]

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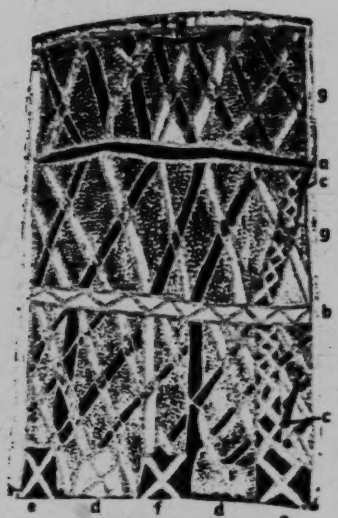
A



B

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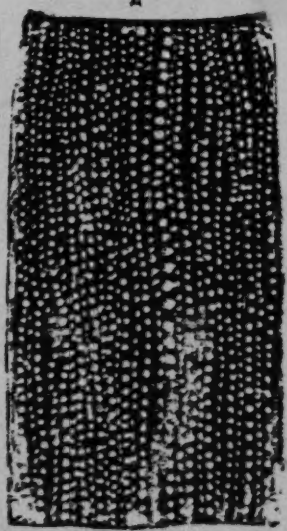
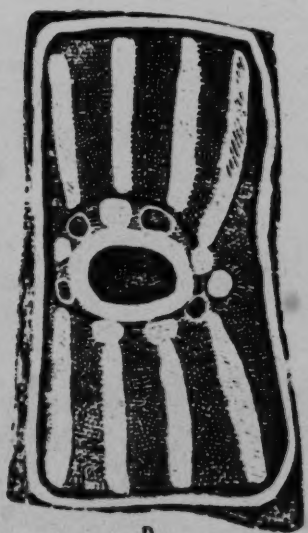


C



D

PLATE 50. *Secular Bark Paintings*
A, Sea-floor; B, Mangrove Swamp; C, Fish-man, Kumunga; D, Topography, Bathurst Island.

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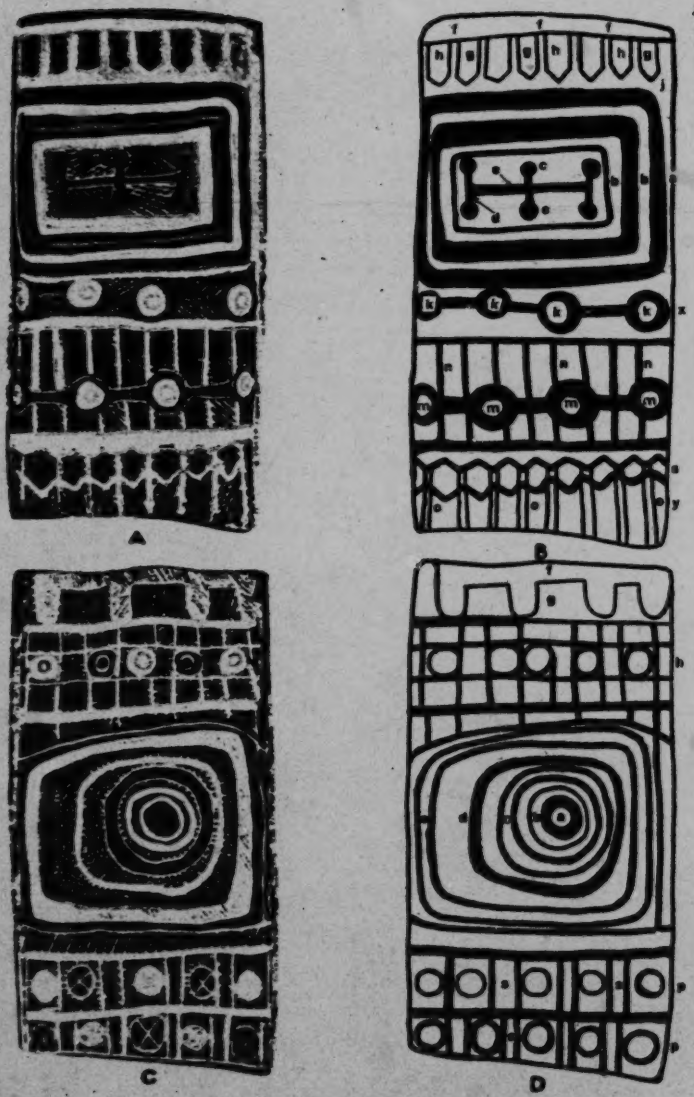

PLATE 51. *Secular Bark Paintings*
A, B, Topography, Garden Point; C, D, Topography, Snake Bay.

[p. 160 C]

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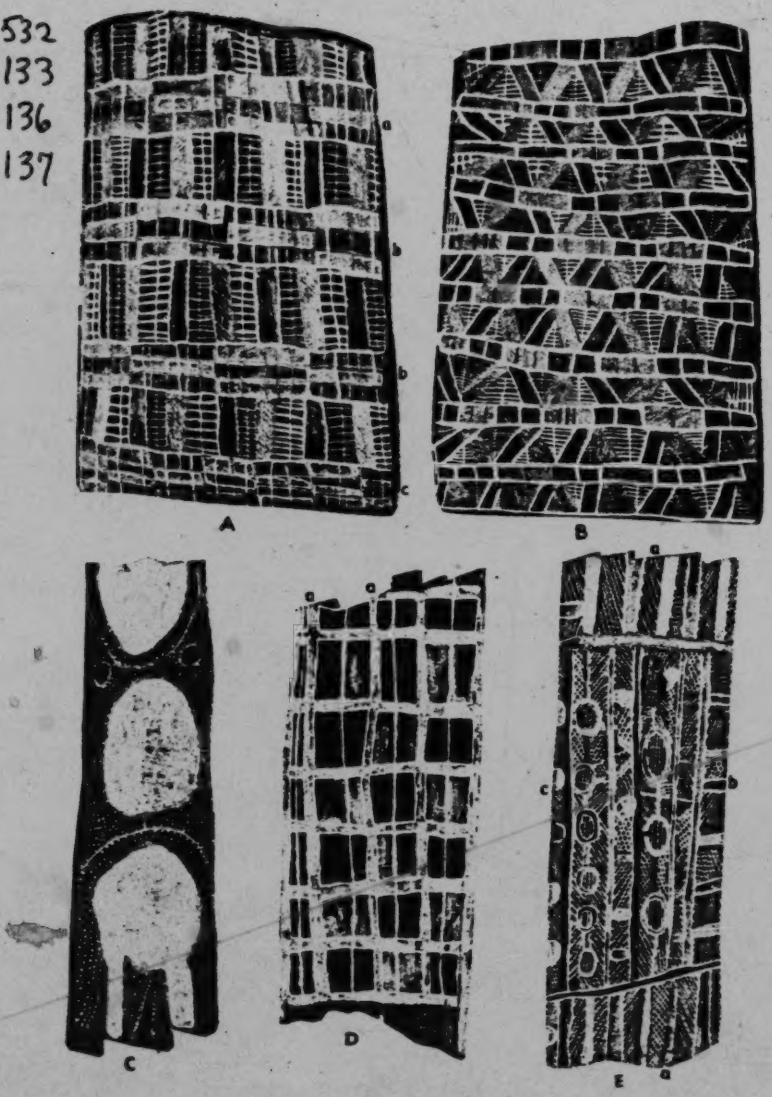

PLATE 52. *Secular Bark Paintings*
A, B, Sea-coast, Cape Van Diemen; C, Lagoons and Swamps; D, The Sea-shore; E, Jungle Scene.

[p. 160 D]

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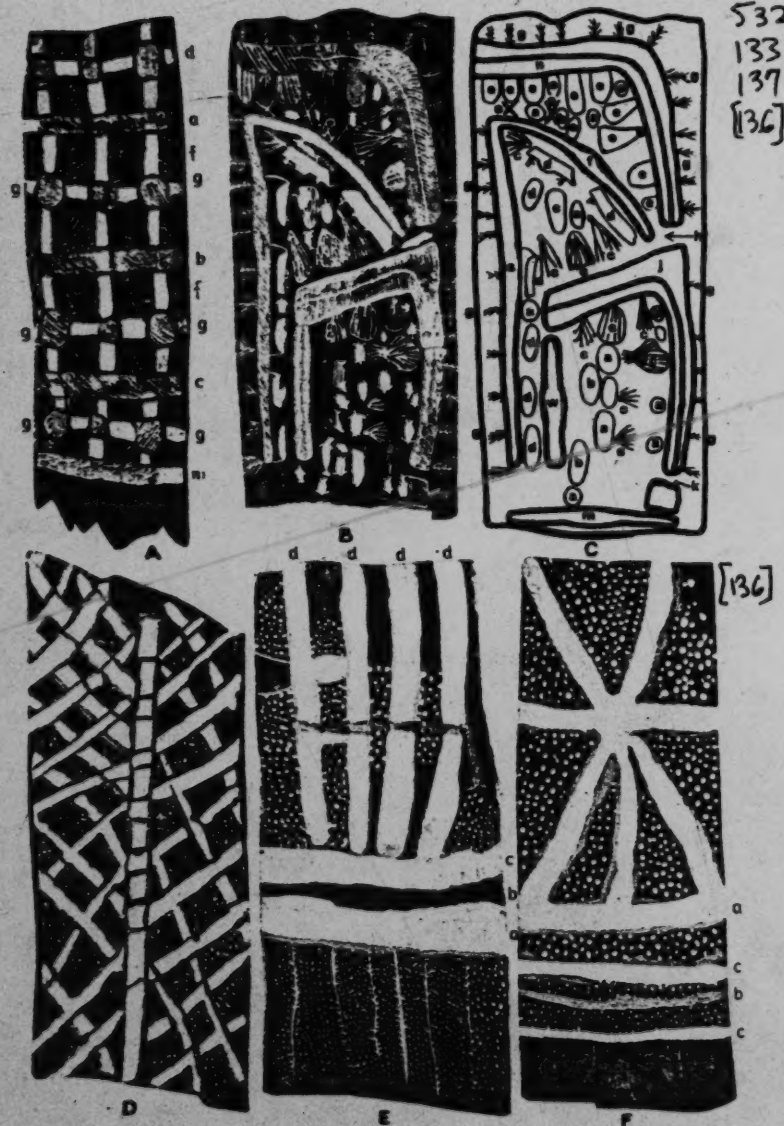

PLATE 53. *Secular Bark Paintings*
A, Forest, Curtis Haven; B, C, Topography, Snake Bay; D, Fresh and Salt-water Streams; E, Topography, Goose Creek; F, Sea-scape.

[f. 160 E]

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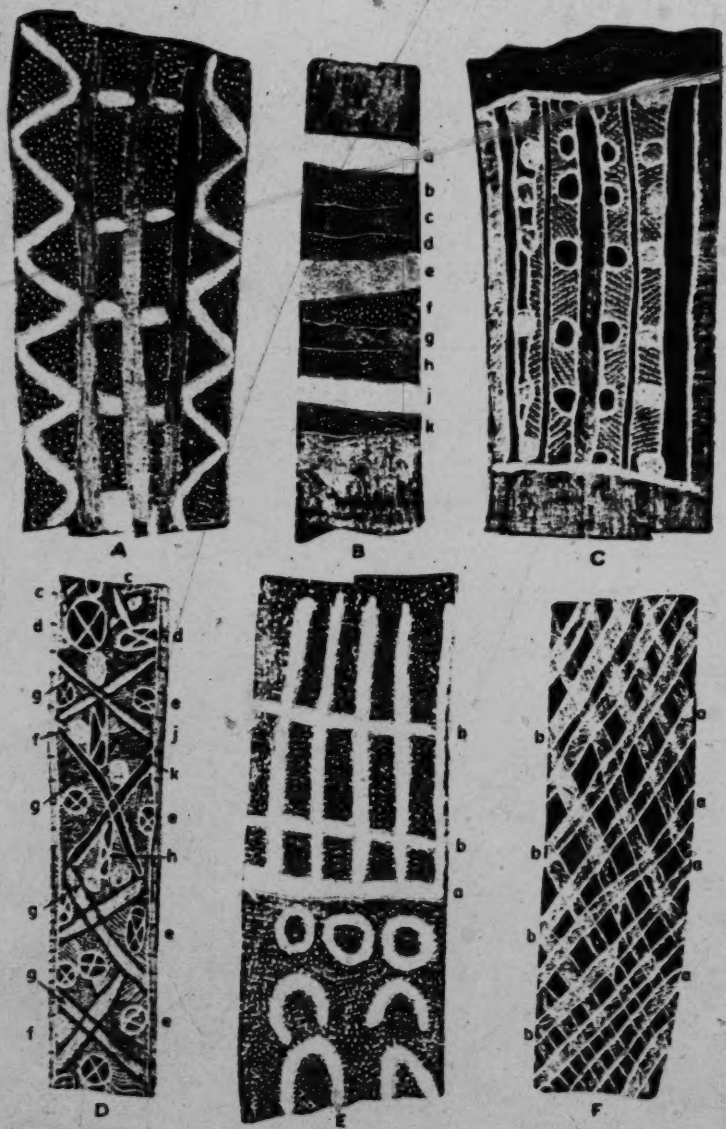

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PLATE 54. *Secular Bark Paintings*
A, Maratji, Goose Creek; B, Sea-shore; C, Sea and Sea-coast; D, Marine Creatures; E, Topography, Snake Bay; F, Jungle.

[p. 160 F]

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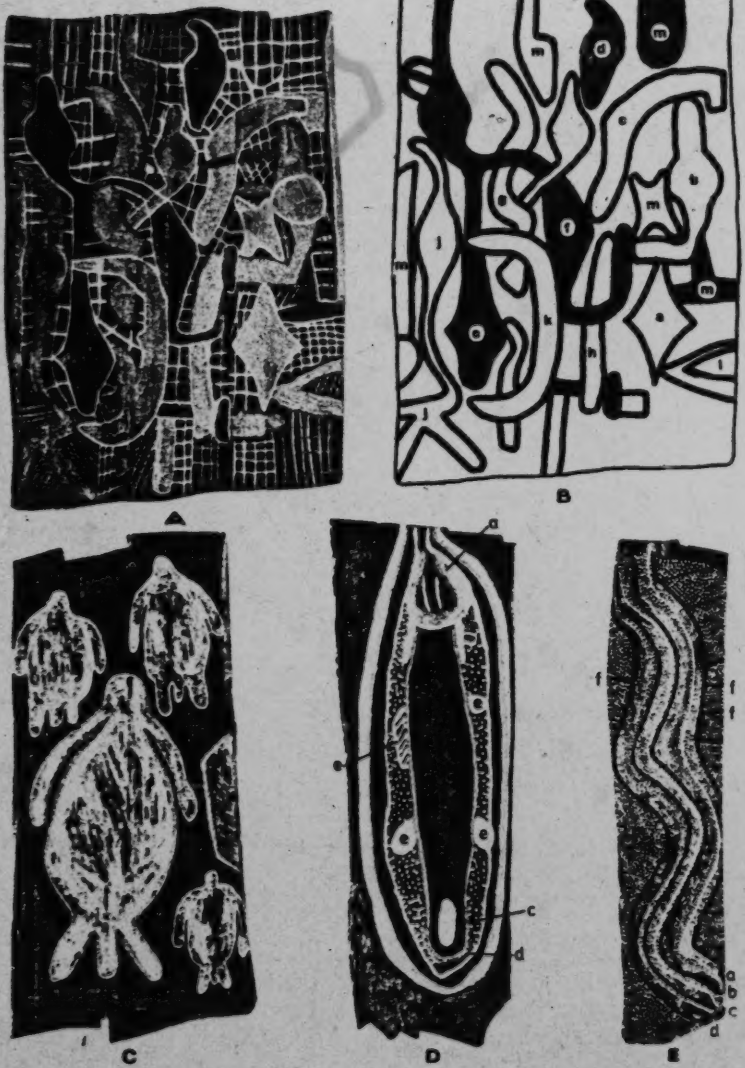

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PLATE 55. *Secular Bark Paintings*
A, B, Sea and Shore Creatures; C, Sea-going Turtles; D, Barramundi; E, Sea-snakes.

[p. 160 G]

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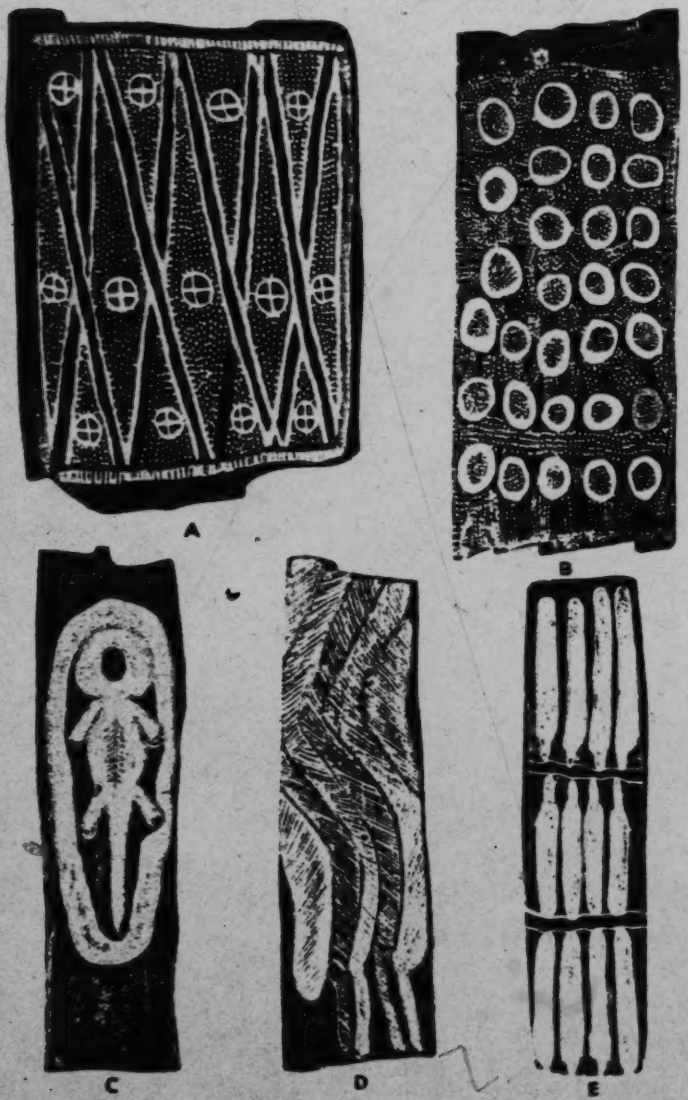

PLATE 57. *Secular Bark Paintings*
A, Edible Fruits; B, Poisonous Yams; C, Goanna; D, Sea-snakes; E, Sponges.

[p. 160 I]

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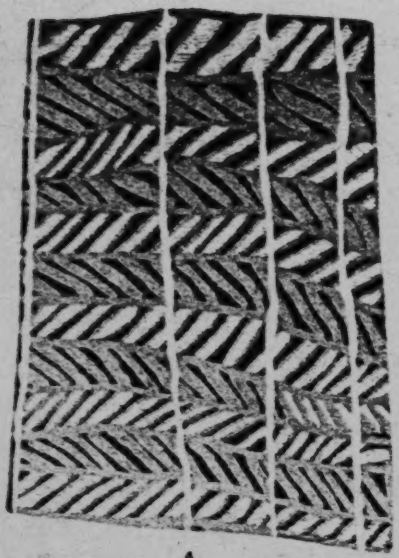
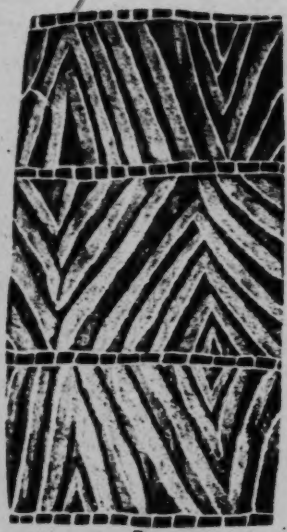


A



B

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C

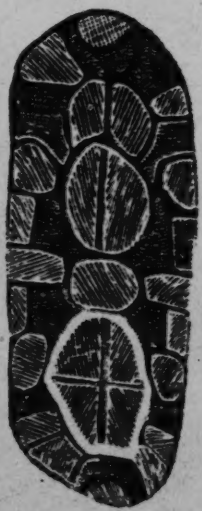

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PLATE 58. *Secular Bark Paintings*

A, Chevron Body Scars; B, Wet-season Sky; C, Honey-bearing Trees; D, Unidentified.

[p. 160 J]

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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and black seeds. The dotted rectangles, *c*, *c*, at the top and bottom of the paintings are lily-covered lagoons (dots represent the blossoms); the cross-hatched panels, *b*, *b*, etc., between them are spider webs in the trees and the meandering lines, *d*, *d*, etc., along the outer edge, a jungle vine hanging from the branches of the trees. The black design *h*, in the middle of the painting, is the beach at Imilu; the irregular circles, *g*, *g*, etc., are large rocks on the shore, and the dots, the eucalyptus trees that grow along the top of the cliff. The series of large rectangles, *m*, *m* (top and bottom) indicate the sandy shores of the lagoons, and the short vertical lines at *k* (bottom), a forest of eucalypts.

A large *pukamuni* basket, Pl. 51A, B, C, D, pictures (*a*) Pl. 51A, B, the topography near the mission station at Garden Point, near Punata (Fig. 1), and (b) Pl. 51C, D, the surroundings near the expedition camp.

Punata (Garden Point)

The series of rectangles on the obverse side of the basket (Pl. 51A, B), represent a house at Garden Island mission. At *a*, are the foundations; *b*, *b*, the walls; *c*, *c*, the upright posts of the house; *d*, the beams of the roof, and at *e*, is the ridge pole.

At *f*, *f*, etc., on the upper edge, are the tall eucalyptus trees of the surrounding forest. At *j*, is the red ground on which the trees grow; at *g*, the dots are black and red seeds on the ground, and at *h*, the cross-hatching is the spider-webs in the trees.

At the bottom of the painting, *n*, *n*, etc., and *o*, *o*, etc., are more large eucalyptus trees. Symbols *k*, *k*, etc., and *m*, *m*, etc., represent hives of wild honey in the trees; the meandering lines at *s*, are jungle vines hanging from the branches; the cross-hatched areas are spider webs among the leaves, and the dots, as before, red and black seeds on the ground.

Snake Bay

The central black circle, *a*, on the reverse side of the basket, Pl. 51C, D, is a black rock in the sea, and the circle, *b*, immediately surrounding it, the broken water at its base, while circle *c*, indicates large rocks at the bottom of the cliffs, the white outer rectangle, *e*, being the sea-sand and the rectangle, *d*, the waves breaking on them. The white dots are the pebbles on the shore.

The upper and lower panels of the painting deal with the land. The white design *f*, on the upper edge, is a forest of large eucalyptus trees, and the cross-hatching, *g*, spider-webs on their branches. The five circles at *h*, are hives

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

X532 of wild honey in the hollow trees, and the dots, the red and black seeds of a
133 jungle vine.
137 On the lower panel, *s*, *s*, etc., indicate another forest of eucalyptus trees; the two rows of five circles at *p*, *p*, hives of wild bees, the cross-hatched panels between them spider webs, and the dots, the red and black seeds.

Biru Creek

Pl. 53E refers to a water-course, Biru, near the Goose Creek swamps, which is fresh in the southern and salt in the northern section, where it enters the sea.

The white panel *a*, is the saltwater end of Biru Creek, which is near the entrance of the Goose Creek swamps (Fig. 1), and the white band *c*, the freshwater end of the same creek. The black band *b*, is its banks. Panels *d*, *d*, etc., are white patches of sand and the dots, on the upper panel, patches of water-grass on the floor of the swamp. The bottom panel represents the open sea, the dots indicating patches of seaweed on the bottom.

Snake Bay

Pl. 53B, C, deals with the topography of Snake Bay.

Karslake Island (Wulrungku) is shown at *m*, on the lower edge; a sandbar (upper), the home of the spirit dogs, the *Wankuis* (p. 154) is at *f*; Iluwara inlet, in the Curtis Haven, is at *h* (middle right); a beach on the opposite shore of Iluwara inlet is at *j*, and Tjipripu Point at *w* (lower left). The long vertical line *s*, on the left, is Banjo beach, on which we camped; and *k* (lower right), a mangrove creek to the east.

Designs *e*, *e*, etc. (upper right), are mangrove trees growing on Karslake Island, and crosses, *o*, *o* (upper left), dead trees on the shore. Basket sponges, growing on rocks at the sea-bottom, are indicated at *c*, *c*, etc. (centre).
[136] Turtles are at *a*, *a*, etc.; dugongs at *b*, *b*, etc., and canoes at *d*, *d*, etc. Many casuarina trees, *g*, *g*, etc., grow along the shore lines.

Lagoons and Swamps

This simple bark painting, Pl. 52C, pictures the lagoons at the rear of the expedition camp.

The upper white semi-circle is the swamp, immediately behind our camp, in which there are many paper-bark trees (*Melaleuca* sp.); the white dots are water-lilies growing in the swamp. The central white oval indicates an open lagoon from which the water runs into the sea.

The lower design indicates a swamp further inland, which is fed by two

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

freshwater streams (projections on the lower edge). The dots around this design are also water-lilies.

532x
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Western Bathurst Island

Pl. 50D illustrates a hill, Ipitjulimpi, on western Bathurst Island.

The central black oval is Ipitjulimpi Hill, and the white outline, the tall annual grass which grows at its base. The circle of small discs are groups of boulders on the sides of the hill. The eight long ovals on the upper and lower sections of the paintings, are cabbage palms; the white outer border symbolises red cliffs near by, and, the dots, the grass on the hillside.

2. THE SEA AND THE SWAMP-LANDS

The Sea and Sea-shore

Three bark paintings, Pl. 54C, Pl. 53F, and Pl. 52D, deal with the sea and the sea-shore.

Pl. 54C refers to the sea and the sea-coast. The outer plain vertical panels symbolise the white sand on the sea-shore, and the outer black panels, batches of sea-weed. The light-coloured ovals are rocks under the water, covered with the sea-weed, and the black ovals are reefs of dark-coloured rocks on the bottom, which shelter the parrot fish and the rock cod. The cross-hatching indicates the white sand on the bottom of the ocean.

Pl. 53F depicts in a simple manner, the sea and the beach.

The intersecting lines on the upper panel represent an octopus, the dots, throughout the painting, small stones on the floor of the ocean; *a*, indicates the waves breaking on the beach; *b*, is a salt-water creek, and *c*, *c*, are its banks.

[136]

Pl. 52D is a bark painting of the sea. The horizontal bars symbolise the waves breaking on the beach; the black rectangles, the dark-coloured stones, and the lighter-coloured rectangles, the red stones exposed at low water. The five vertical bands such as *a*, *a*, indicate the lines of debris, left by the retreating tide.

The Ocean Floor

Pl. 50A pictures the floor of the ocean. The light and dark coloured discs throughout the painting are boulders on the bottom, black projections on the dark-coloured discs, pearl-shell oysters, and those on the lighter discs, star-fish. The dots indicate the sea-sand.

[136]

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

grove swamps, and the dotted panels, *b*, *d*, *f*, *h*, and *k*, to the seaweed growing on the sea-bottom.

3. THE FAUNA

The Sea-Creatures

Two bark paintings, 55A, B, and 56A, B, depict the creatures who live on the floor of the ocean.

On Pl. 55A, B, design *a*, represents a shark; design *b*, and *f*, are large sea-snakes; *e*, is a smaller species, and *g*, another snake that lives in the mangrove swamps. At *c*, is a saw-fish; at *d*, a porpoise, and at *h*, a sea-slug or *beche-de-mer*. Designs, *m*, *n*, etc., are shells; and *l*, boulders on the sea-bottom; *k*, is a creek in the mangrove swamp, and *j*, a sandbank in Snake Bay.

Pl. 56A, B, also deals with the creatures of the sea. In the central section panels *a*, *a*, are star-fish; panel *b*, refers to an octopus; *c*, to pearl-shell oysters; *d*, to a crab, and *e*, to a turtle. The cross-hatching, throughout the design, is symbolical of the scale pattern on a crocodile skin, and the two transverse white bands are the creature's intestines.

The Snakes

Two bark paintings, Pl. 57D and Pl. 55E, depict the snakes of Melville and Bathurst Islands.

Pl. 57D pictures, in conventionalized form, a number of sea-snakes, some of which were poisonous and much feared.

Pl. 55E illustrates a number of snakes that live in the forest and jungle adjacent to the expedition.

Reading from the right, *a*, is the venomous bush snake, *jaruwini*; *b*, a copper-coloured non-venomous snake, *ilinga*; *c*, a venomous snake, *buliaringa*, that lives in the mangrove swamps, and *d*, a harmless water-snake, *patinga*. The short, more or less horizontal lines at *f*, *f*, are tall eucalypts in the forest and the dots, the grass at their base.

A Goanna

Pl. 57C is a simple X-ray bark painting of a goanna, on which the backbone and ribs are indicated. This is the only example of that curious art form which I saw on Melville Island, although on the adjacent mainland, the X-ray art has reached its highest development.[88]

The Sea-going Turtle

Pl. 55C pictures the sea-going turtles. The central design represents the

[88] Mountford, 1956, p. 256.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

X 532
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large logger-head turtle, *Ringa*, whose totemic place is at Jutapinta, north of Karslake Island (see Pl. 12c).

In the lower right is a young logger-head, and in the upper left, a hawk-bill turtle, *Garagalani*, which when a woman, assisted in the *pukamuni* of *Purukupali*.

On the upper right of the painting is a green turtle and on the right-hand edge, a canoe which the aborigines had used to capture the turtles.

A Barramundi

This bark painting, Pl. 55D, pictures a barramundi, *alaminga*, a large fish which lives in either fresh or salt water.

The fish, *c*, is shown within the inner white oval. Its head is at *a*, its eyes being the two short lines within *a*; its tail is at *d*, and its fins at *e*, *s*, *e*, *e*. The dots represent the marks on its skin.

The outer oval is made up of red, white, yellow and black lines. Reading from the outside, the red oval indicates the land; the white, the sandy beach; the yellow, the breaking waves, and the black, the open sea.

A Jelly-fish

Pl. 56C illustrates an unidentified jelly-fish, *indringa*. The central disc is the body; the radiating lines, the tentacles, and the cross-hatched areas the ocean.

A Saw-fish, Jidati

Pl. 56D is a simple, representational bark painting of the saw-fish, *jidati*, in which the saw of the creature is given special prominence and the fins are shown as legs.

Sea Sponges

Pl. 57E pictures a number of sponges growing on the floor of the ocean. Although sea sponges do not appear to have any specific value to the aborigines, they are often pictured in the bark paintings.

4. THE FLORA

X 532
137

Edible Jungle Fruits

Pl. 57A illustrates a number of edible fruits that grow in the jungle and the forest.

The crosses surrounded by a circle, represent the fruits of two different eugenias. They are about the size of an apple; one, a red fruit, is called *kinamia*, and the other, a white fruit, *tauraruina*.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

The intersecting diagonal lines symbolize the trunks of those fruit-bearing trees, and the dots on the ground, a small edible berry. 532 × 137 ●

The Poisonous Yams

Pl. 57B illustrates two of the poisonous yams, the *kulama* and the *kwani*. These yams have to be sliced and soaked in water for about three days to remove the poison. They are then edible. The dots on the background indicate grass and shrubs.

The Jungle Trees

This simple painting, Pl. 54F, represents two species of trees that grow in the jungle. The diagonal lines such as *a*, *a*, etc., leading from lower left to upper right of the painting, symbolize a large white-barked jungle tree, and those crossing at right-angles, i.e., *b*, *b*, etc., the milkwood tree. The unpainted diamonds indicate the bare ground and the small plants on the floor of the forest.

A Eucalyptus Forest

The central horizontal panel, *a*, of Pl. 54E represents a track that leads through the forest adjacent to our camp. The five vertical white lines are large eucalyptus trees in a nearby forest which have been hollowed out by the termites, the hollows being indicated by the two upper horizontal lines, *b*, *b*, in the top panel. The dots indicate grass and low shrubs.

On the lower panel, the four crescents are the new moons; the dots, the stars in the sky, and the circles, rocky outcrops. I did not find out whether these rocky outcrops were celestial or terrestrial features. [821]

A Jungle Scene, Imiln

Pl. 52E pictures the trees in a jungle at Imiln, Cape Van Diemen.

The short vertical lines, *a*, *a*, in the top and bottom panels and the short horizontal lines at *b*, on the right-hand edge are trees in the jungle, and the spaces between them, the sandy ground. The five semi-circles at *c*, on the left-hand edge and the ovals in the panels, are the trunks and branches of other jungle trees, and the cross-hatching is a carpet of fallen leaves.

Honey-bearing Trees

The painting, Pl. 58C, deals only with the honey-bearing blossoms of the trees. The long horizontal rectangle is a fallen tree in the forest and the six upright symbols, the trunks of living eucalyptus trees with their upper

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

X 532
137

branches in full blossom. The dots at the base of the painting indicate eucalyptus blossoms lying on the ground.

A Forest, Curtis Haven

Pl. 53A illustrates the topography at Curtis Haven.

Transverse panel *a*, is a stringy-bark tree,[50] *b*, *c*, are two woolly-butts and *m*, is an ironwood. The short white panels at *f*, *f*, are cycad palms; the lines of circles at *g*, *g*, *g*, low hills, and the short white panels between them, cabbage palms. The cross-hatching indicates the grass on the hillsides.

5. MISCELLANEOUS AND UNIDENTIFIED

X 532
304

Body Scars

Pl. 58A refers to the chevron scars on the bodies of the older men and women; it has no other meaning.

The four white vertical lines indicate the scars on their legs; the many transverse lines, those across the abdomens, and the lines of dark and light-coloured chevron designs, the scars on the abdomens, backs, upper arms, and thighs.[51]

The Salmon-man

X 532
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At the *pukamuni* of *Purukupali*, a salmon-man painted himself and his many wives with a series of large spots like those on the basket; when at the completion of the ceremony, those people became fish, they still retained the coloured spots on their bodies. The dots on Pl. 50C are symbolical of those on the body of the mythical salmon-man.

Design for a Pukamuni Pole

X 532
136

Pl. 54D is a similar design to one which the artist once painted on a *pukamuni* pole he made for the dead man, *Kulatina*. The designs,[52] which are not linked with any myth or secular story, were, according to the artist, formed in his mind by the sound of the waves breaking on a nearby coast.

The four groups of crossed lines, *g*, *g*, etc., represent trepang, the lighter coloured being the white and the darker, the black species. The smaller

[50] These are species of eucalypts.

[51] The older generation of Melville and Bathurst Islanders were decorated with these scars. The custom has been discontinued in recent years. Spencer, 1928, Fig. 439, illustrates examples.

[52] Spencer, 1928, Fig. 475, illustrates poles decorated with a design similar to bark paintings, Pl. 54D.

3: Hart E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 O120 Tiwi O120

not only in physique but also in intelligence. I should be surprised to find in any other Australian tribe a man with the intelligence and adaptability of my own head boy Mariano.

The flora and fauna of the two islands is very similar to that of the rest of the Northern Territory. The country is mostly flat with a low range of rocky hills between Cape Gambier and Cape Keith on Melville Island, and a still lower range in the centre of Bathurst. The timber consists of the usual Australian trees; gums, stringy-bark, woolly-butt, bloodwood and ironwood cover most of the two islands, broken here and there by patches of open grassland and in other places by dense patches of jungle where snakes and "devils" thrive and the natives seldom enter. Wallabies are extraordinarily plentiful, but there are no kangaroos. Buffaloes are found on Melville in small numbers. These are the wild descendants of the domestic Indian buffaloes imported for agricultural purposes by the early settlers at Fort Dundas. At one time they had increased and multiplied to such effect that thousands were shot every year without any appreciable effect upon their numbers. At the present time, however, probably owing to many of the cows being killed, there are probably not more than a thousand on the island. The natives are seldom able to kill a buffalo though they realise the fact that it is good to eat.

Not only are wallabies plentiful, but there is also an abundant supply of the other native articles of food, fish, crocodile, birds of all kinds, wild honey, yams and other native vegetables. As a result of this abundance of foods, it would seem that the two islands had a greater density of population than is to be found in almost any other part of Australia.

LOCAL ORGANIZATION

The people inhabiting Melville and Bathurst Islands are subdivided into a number of local groups. These local groups are the important sections of the population since they act as land-owning groups, war-making groups, have a solidarity of their own which is far stronger than any tribal solidarity that may exist and even to some extent regulate marriage.

Before considering these hordes in detail, however, something must be said about the tribal name. All the hordes practise the same customs, speak the same language and inter-marry. The boundaries of the people speaking this language are of course strictly defined by the sea. In other words, the people of Melville and Bathurst have a solidarity of their own,

5: Basedow D-5 (1911)1913 OI20 Tiwi OI20

NOTES ON THE NATIVES OF BATHURST ISLAND, NORTH AUSTRALIA.

By Herbert Basedow, M.D., M.A., B.Sc., F.G.S., etc.

With Plates VII–XX.

Local Correspondent of the Royal Anthropological Institute, London, and Honorary Fellow of the Anthropological Society, Göttingen; late Chief Medical Inspector and Chief Protector of Aborigines in the Northern Territory of Australia.

Introduction.

In August of last year (1911), I visited Bathurst Island to inspect the natives on behalf of the Commonwealth Government. Accompanied by one of my inspectors (Mr. J. H. Kelly) and a crew consisting of a Chinaman, a Manilaman, and three natives of the Larrekiya Tribe,[1] I left Port Darwin at eleven o'clock in the evening and entered Apsley Strait early the next morning. We spent nine days in the examination of the island, entering the numerous salt-water arms and rivers, effecting a landing wherever possible and traversing the island on foot. Landing was, in most places, difficult on account of the thick growth of mangroves that fringes the island on the east. It had been my intention to circumnavigate the island, but a heavy monsoonal gale prevented us from even making the attempt in the small motor-craft at our disposal. I therefore decided to return *vid* Apsley Strait and inspect part of Melville Island.

The plates included in this paper are all reproductions of my original photographs and coloured drawings.

Condition of Natives.

I estimate the population of the island to be about 500. Their isolation and, no doubt in a measure also, their reputation as being cannibalistic and treacherous in their habits, have guarded their primitive condition to the present day.[2] Before

[1] *Vide Trans. Roy. Soc. of S. Australia*, vol. xxxi, 1907, p. 1.

[2] Compare the statement:—

"Melville Island, about 30 miles north of Port Darwin, is inhabited by a tribe of which very little is known. They do not circumcise, and speak a different language from those on the mainland. They are represented as a very strong and powerful race.

"Before the arrival of the Hon. B. T. Finniss at Escape Cliffs in 1864, the Melville Island natives occasionally visited the mainland for the purpose of stealing lubras, in which they invariably succeeded; but they have not done so since. This tribe is of a very hostile nature, and on several occasions have attacked Europeans visiting the island. Their canoes and weapons are similar to those on the mainland." P. Foelsche: "Notes on the Aborigines of North Australia," *Trans. Roy. Soc. S. Australia*, vol. v, 1882, p. 17.

5: Basedow D-5 (1911)1913 OI20 Tiwi OI20

PLATE X.

501 Fig. 1. "Fish-tail" bark canoes, Apsley Strait.
Fig. 2. "Fish-tail" bark canoes and "dug-out" canoe in the distance, Apsley Strait. Melville Island in the background.

PLATE XI.

Figs. 1 and 2. Bow and stern of "fish-tail" bark canoe. $\frac{1}{10}$ natural size.
Figs. 3 and 4. Balers made out of the melon shell. Fig. 3 shows the painted decoration of the outer surface; while in Fig. 4 it is seen how the columella of the shell has been removed with a sharp cutting instrument. $\frac{1}{4}$ natural size.

PLATE XII.

314 396 137 Fig. 1. Forest scene on Bathurst Island. From the stringy-barked eucalyptus on the left side of the picture, the bark has been removed for the purpose of making a canoe. Another tree, which has been similarly treated, is seen in the background, near the centre of the picture. In the foreground note a tall specimen of the zamia-palm (*Cycas media*).
501 Fig. 2. Various types of paddles in use on Bathurst Island. About $\frac{1}{10}$ natural size.

PLATE XIII.

764 Figs. 1 and 2. Distant and near view of a native grave, surrounded by five carved and painted posts, Bathurst Island. Note the cleared space and the position of grave, viz.: at the junction between open woodland and thicket. A tall Bathurst Islander in seen in Fig. 2.

PLATE XIV.

415 Fig. 1. A melon-shell (*Melo diadema*) used as a drinking vessel. $\frac{1}{4}$ natural size.
Fig. 2. A *Fusus priesi* used as a drinking vessel. $\frac{1}{4}$ natural size.
Figs. 3 and 4. Drinking cups made out of folded sheets of paper-bark (*Melaleuca*). $\frac{1}{4}$ natural size.
532 764 Figs. 5a, 5b, 5c, 5d, 5e. Painted and carved posts of native grave shown in previous plate. $\frac{1}{4}$ natural size.

PLATE XV.

415 Fig. 1. A series of four shells of the *Cyrena assingtonensis* which have been used for holding red, white and yellow earth-pigments to mix with water as required. $\frac{1}{4}$ natural size.
317 386 Fig. 2. Lumps of yellow ochre (on the left), white pipe-clay (in the centre), and red ochre (on the right), used in the decoration of the grave posts shown in previous plate. $\frac{1}{4}$ natural size.
413 Fig. 3. Primitive paint brushes made by macerating the ends of short pieces of the shoots of the climbing palm (*Calamus Australis*). $\frac{1}{4}$ natural size.
301 Figs. 4 and 6. Special corroboree arm-rings. $\frac{1}{4}$ natural size.
532 Fig. 5. A corroboree mask (*l*). $\frac{1}{4}$ natural size.

PLATE XVI.

291 532 764 Figs. 1 and 2. Bathurst Island natives painting grave-posts. Note the cosmetic body-scars in imitation of the leaf of the zamia palm (*Cycas media*).

5: Basedow D-5 (1911)1913 OI20 Tiwi OI20

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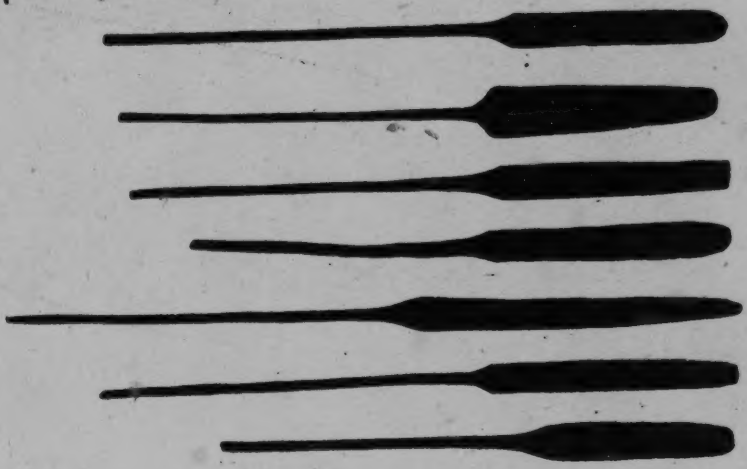

FIG. 2.

NOTES ON THE NATIVES OF BATHURST ISLAND, NORTH AUSTRALIA.

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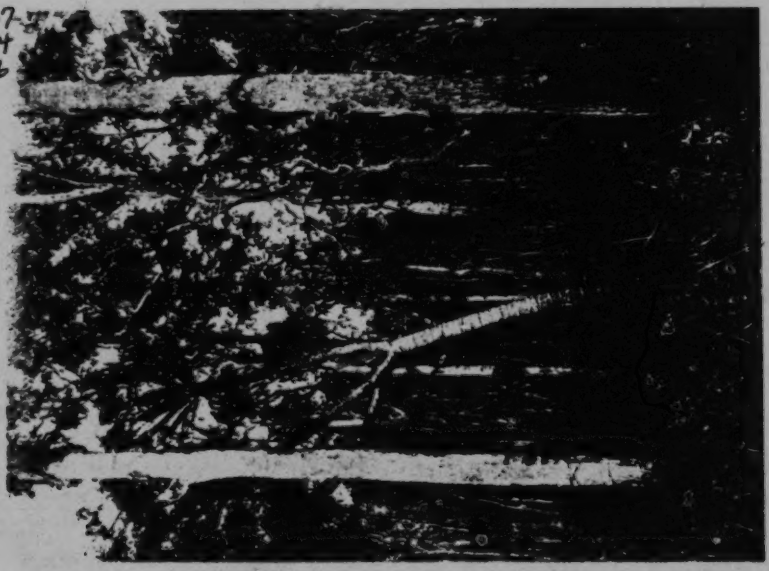

FIG. 1.

[END PLATE 6]

[FOR EXPLANATION OF PLATE SEE P 322 - ANALYST]

6: Hart E-5 (1928-1930) 1954 OI20 Tiwi OI20

nature of the cause they diverged sharply. The same single-minded concentration which Mariano devoted to the cultivation of white men, Louis devoted to his sexual activities. Whether two men devoting most of their time one to preaching acculturation, the other to seduction, can be said to have a common basic personality, is a question best left to the personality experts; but at least to the superficial observer there was something vaguely similar in the grim and humorless way in which Louis pursued other men's wives and the way in which Mariano carried on his acculturation campaign.

Sexual irregularities are difficult data upon which to obtain accurate information in any culture. When, therefore, Louis is described as an habitual and constant seducer, no claim is made that he was actually as successful in this line of endeavor as tribal opinion maintained. All that we can be sure of is that Louis had an exalted reputation of this sort and he had it in a tribe where a number of circumstances combine to make seduction almost as easy and almost as common as eating or drinking. The seduction situation is largely the result of the marriage customs of the Tiwi which have the effect of forcing most men to remain bachelors until well into their thirties while concentrating all wives, old and young, in the hands of the older men. This means that the older a man gets the more wives he accumulates, and it would appear that the more he accumulates the more suspicious he becomes that some of them (probably the younger and more physically attractive ones) are being unfaithful to him. These suspicions are accentuated by (a) the way in which the day-to-day food gathering activities of the women are necessarily carried out—the women are widely dispersed through the bush, often working singly, well out of sight and hearing of each other; (b) the fact that young unmarried men are frequently hunting (or pretending to hunt) alone in the same general area of country as that in which an old man's numerous wives are gathering wild foods; and (c) the character of the vegetation in large sections of the Tiwi country, great stretches of it being just open enough to make it easy for native eyes to see somebody slipping through the trees, but just thick enough to make it difficult for them to be sure of identities at any distance.[6]

In such an atmosphere it is rare for any bachelor to live for more than a few months at most without having to face an accusation by some old man that he has been taking liberties with one of the latter's wives, and it is even rarer for an old man with a number of young wives not to have reason to suspect most or all of them of having been unfaithful to him several times at least in the course of a year. But in this setting of daily seduction Louis' reputation was outstanding. In the period with which we are dealing here he had been suspected and publicly accused of adultery with almost every possible woman for miles around. His demeanor when accused by the outraged husbands was characteristic. Whereas other seducers denied the charge and asserted their essential purity, or tried to laugh it off as silly rumor ("Why, I don't even know the woman"), or alibied themselves and accused other men ("I wasn't even hunting in that direction that day, it must have been so-and-so, he was following a kangaroo down that way at the time in question"), or sometimes even

9:Harney & Elkin E-4, 5 (ca. 1940)1943 O120 Tiwi O120

MELVILLE AND BATHURST ISLANDERS: A SHORT DESCRIPTION

By W. E. HARNEY and A. P. ELKIN[1]

133 *Type of Country.* These islands are fairly large, measuring together about 150 miles from east to west and about 50 miles across the widest part. It is flat country composed of lateritic overburden covering a chalky and, in some places, a green stone full of fossils (Ammonites, Belemites, etc.). At one time it was probably connected with the mainland, and the Apsley Strait which separates the two islands was in those days a continuation of the Adelaide River.

●137 The timber is mostly stringybark, bloodwood, and fan palm, while along the shores is the usual jungle growth that can be found in these parts. Wallabies and 136 other game are also present, but no porcupine (echidna), native cat or emu. Dingoes 231 are plentiful. This is the reason for the natives having few dogs. The tame dog (*wongins*), while out hunting alone, is often destroyed by these dingoes, *diamini*. 825 According to the natives, the dingoes do this because they are annoyed with the native dogs for taking some of their food. They (the *diamini*) are the rightful owners and the dog is an intruder.

142 *The Natives.* The natives of these islands, all of whom speak one language, are an unusual type. Curly hair predominates, but occasionally we find a straight-haired and a curly haired person in the same family. The cicatrices on their bodies 304 are of the palm leaf pattern, though the straight lines of the mainland people may often be seen. They bear numerous small cuts on their foreheads and various parts 757 of the body, caused by the practice of blood-letting as a cure for sickness.

101 *Tribal Name.* The tribal name of these people is an open question. At one time Mr. Harney called them Nimara, their word for language or talk. They have a word, Tunawini, one black man, but this term can embrace people of other tribes; it comes from the words *tiwi*, men (Hart's name for these natives, *Oceania*, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 167), *tini*, man, *tiya*, woman. They have, however, a term Worunguwe, which embraces them all—clans, horde places, people—and excludes other tribes such as Iwaidja, Larrakia, etc. The Iwaidja people call the Melville Island natives by that name, and Mr. Harney suggests that we should use it. Hart's term is not really a tribal name for it simply means people. Father McGrath suggests a name

[1] Mr. W. E. Harney is the exceptional layman who understands Aboriginal culture. For a number of years he and I have been collaborating in the study of a number of Aboriginal tribes of the Northern Territory. This article is a brief summary of information gathered by Mr. Harney while engaged in work on Melville and Bathurst Islands. It has been checked, discussed with Mr. Harney, and rewritten by myself. For some parts of this paper readers are advised to refer to the following articles by C. W. M. Hart: "The Tiwi of Melville and Bathurst Islands," *Oceania*, Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 167-180, and "Personal Names Amongst the Tiwi," *Oceania*, Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 80-90.—A. P. ELKIN.

[114]

[p. 228]

12:Goodale E-5 (1954) 1957 OI20 Tiwi OI20

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Fig. 1. Snake Bay Settlement

114 Islanders on a hunt. The trip took us to a small clearing on the right bank of the Paluwiunga River, ten miles upstream from where it empties into the Arafura Sea.

131 A brief glance at the map will help to further pinpoint this location. Ten degrees south of the equator and at a distance of twenty to fifty miles due north from the Australian Northern Territory capital of Darwin, lies the relatively large Melville Island (1,000 square miles), named for Viscount Henry Dundas Melville, First Lord of the Admiralty, who authorized the coastal survey of 1818 during which the island was circumnavigated. To the west, separated by a narrow strait, lies the smaller Bathurst 101 Island. The group of people with whom I found myself camped by the river bank were members of the Tiwi, a tribe of Australian [161 Aboriginals whose country includes both these islands. Today about 361] seven hundred members of the tribe live near to the southeast corner 717 of Bathurst Island where they are in various ways administered to by the Sacred Heart Mission. On the northern coast of Melville 161 Island, on a hill overlooking Snake Bay, near the mouth of the
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12:Goodale E-5 (1954) 1957 O120 Tiwi O120

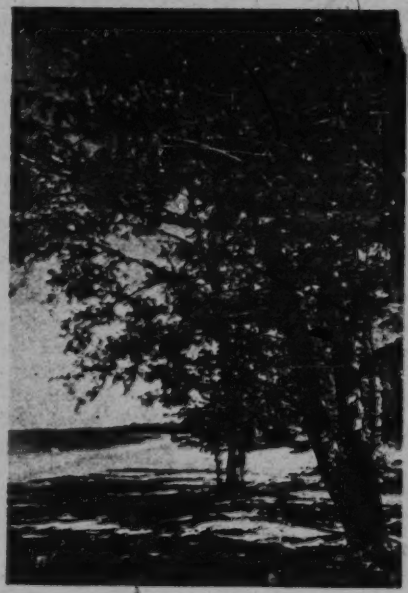

Fig. 4. A casuarina grove

clutched Tchuwiunga more tighty and I hugged my KLM bag while the two men worked to head the canoe into the largest waves while trying at the same time to head in towards the shore. This meant taking a good many not so large waves broadside and we got very wet. Facing sternwards, I could not see the waves, so if a particularly large one (Agnes called them "female waves!") approached, I would be given a few seconds warning and would duck the breaking spray which would cover the boat and its occupants. The only miserable one was the puppy who presented a very puzzled and hurt expression as he peered out from under the folds of Agnes's *naga*. For the rest of us the cold spray was a welcome relief from the burning sun.

Once in close to the shore, our skilful paddlers brought the canoe safely onto the beach, riding in on one of the breakers. We unloaded everything, although we intended to stop only for lunch, for the canoe would soon be swamped by the sea if left alone. After unloading, Albert swam the canoe out beyond the breakers where he anchored it with a large rock.

Then we climbed the low dunes close to the shore and came to a grove of casuarinas. These provided much appreciated shade but a very uncomfortable carpet of spiny seed pods. Taking up our two billy cans, Agnes led me to the back of the grove where she showed me a small well. There were many footprints around the sandy hole which were identified as belonging to Black Joe's mob, the natives who had preceded us. They had, however, not depleted the well for in the bottom was a small puddle, and since this was at the very end of the six months dry season, it was considered fortunate that there was any water at all. Agnes carefully tasted

123 Although the wind had died and the clouds given way to a clear, light blue sky, the sea still had heavy rollers. However, instead of breaking over the canoe, they gently lifted it high in the air, then let it slide down the incline. We set out as the first rays of the sun appeared over the horizon and soon began to feel revived as our clothes began to dry. We stayed fairly close to the shore, close enough so that landmarks could be easily seen. For a while we coasted by the thin white strip of sand along which we 123 had hunted for turtle eggs the afternoon before. The land in back 133 of the beach was low swampland and all that could be seen was a thin line of green foliage. But soon we approached Tubinu Point. Here the beach gave way to a jutting headland and the steep seaward cliff was a rainbow of colors where bands of ocherous clays [134] of yellow and red were separated by clear white and topped by a [137] heavy line of dark humus. Tall eucalyptus trees stood right up to the edge of the 75-foot cliff. We stayed well clear of the base, for a short but ragged, rocky reef extended out under the water.

123 Rounding the point, we came to a small inlet edged with the ever-present tangle of mangrove trees, beyond which was another clean white stretch of sandy beach. About this time the puppy grew restless and started roaming the canoe from stern to bow. Once he had reached the bow he climbed up to the very point and stuck his nose into the wind. As the canoe rose and dipped he would lose his balance and I would grab him and hand him to Agnes. But he would not stay put and soon would again be a live figurehead pointing the way. Finally, Albert said, "Let him go." As was to be expected, the next roller knocked little Tchuwiunga off his perch and into the sea he went. As the canoe passed, Albert leaned over and fished the frightened, struggling puppy out of the water and handed him to Agnes, who began rubbing him down. "Him gotta learn," remarked Albert. "Sea bin teach him more better." Soon Tchuwiunga revived his courage and again ventured forward, but this time instead of standing on the bow, he curled up on the bag of flour and slept soundly until we reached our destination. He had indeed learned his lesson well.

The rolling motion, sun, and inactivity had made both Agnes and me drowsy and we were all but asleep when Big Jack woke [201] us with, "Black Joe mob. Him camp Anderaningo." I looked in

12:Goodale E-5 (1954) 1957 O120 Tiwi O120

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Fig. 9. Two young hunters practicing with fish-spears

123 the impenetrable jungle, which were attributed to the *Ningawi*, the
[776] weird and mysterious "little people" of the mangrove. Rounding a curve in the river, we surprised a flock of whistle ducks sitting on an exposed mudbank. Young Billy tried to shoot one for supper but missed, and soon they were well out of range. On a rare piece of solid ground we saw the long tail and massive hips of a startled
[136] wallaby as he hopped to safety. However, a successful throw of the fish-spear brought us a large barramundi, and the .22 rifle provided both a possum and a fruit bat, or flying fox, for supper.

All of a sudden the mangroves disappeared and our view was no longer restricted to the river bank; rather we gazed through
● [137] thick, gnarled white paperbarks on the water's edge to wide expanses of marshy grasslands. A few flocks of black and white geese, which had returned to the swamps early in the evening, were startled by the sound of the motor and rose honking in fright.

About five, we reached Minianapi, a landing place about fifteen yards wide, where solid ground reached the river bank. We were

settlement work. It seemed the chief advantage was that they received 'money-in-the-finger' from the skins they caught. They didn't understand why they didn't also get paid for the settlement work. I kept silent, but soon they turned to me and said, "You get job; how much you pay?" I told them, and then went on to say that out of that salary I had to pay someone for the food I ate, the clothes I wore, the house I lived in and so on, whereas they did not have to pay for the flour, tea, sugar, meat, blankets, or clothes the welfare people gave them. There was a long silence during which, I believe, each man was figuring how much all these benefits were worth in hard money. Finally Ginger said slowly, "Maybe, this way more better."

Soon the visitors rose and returned to their fires. Someone started a song, a low nasal chant. Another, a woman, began a high-pitched love song, and to this discordant lullaby I soon fell asleep.

As usual, it was barely light when the camp came to life again. After the customary tea breakfast, the various families discussed among themselves the day's plans. Black Joe and Long Peter, their wives and children, were taking the canoe up-river to hunt. Young Brook and his brothers, Danny Brown and Charlie Cook, their wives and children, soon left to hunt in the area back of Minianapi, Charlie Quiet and Roger also left. "Now we go?" I turned in question to Albert. "No, we stay behind. Build house. No good you go bush. Too much grass, plenty big mob cheeky snake. By and-by that mob burn grass; then we go bush." It seemed like a logical explanation, but I was disappointed.

The day was already sticky and muggy, and tired of inactivity I started off toward the creek, saying I was going for a swim. Both natives jumped up and said, "No. No. Too much crocodile, more better go along billabong." So with Agnes ahead we started down the path leading away from the creek. Soon we were out of the thick tangle of bushes separating the clearing from the true bush. Now the path led over the rocky, dusty ground, which had but recently been burned. The trunks of the large bloodwood and stringy-bark trees were blackened for about four feet up from their base. The spiraled trunks of the screwpalm, as well as their lower dried leaves, also had a charred appearance. Except for an occa-

12:Goodale E-5 (1954) 1957 OI20 Tiwi OI20

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Figs. 18 and 19. With a tomahawk between his teeth, Albert goes after honey.

OOO out from East Point, and from the nearest island of the Vernon group, were also clearly visible as we passed over them. Straight ahead, Melville and Bathurst Islands now showed up, the hills a darker blue, and every moment they became more and more distinctly visible.

133 We turned west again as we reached the shores of Melville Island. Below, and near at hand, in turn were sandy beaches,
137 cliffs that come straight down to the water's edge, or low mangrove-flats through which wind serpentine inlets of salt water. Inland, low green hills are covered with open tropical forest, denser on the lower slopes and thinning towards the arid, stony summits. Fan-palms grow among the tropical eucalypts, and the familiar pandanus palm borders open grassy flats just as it does on the mainland across the narrow seas. Buffalo, now
[136] so much reduced in numbers that nobody shoots them, feed on the flats, and in the forest-covered hills are many kangaroos and wallabies. Little bays, and now and then projecting lines of reef, make natural boat-harbours, and far away across the tree-tops a wide expanse of shining water seems to be a great lake surrounded by wooded hills—it is actually an arm of the sea on the eastern side of Cape Van Diemen.

The funnel-shaped entrance to Apsley Strait, the mile-wide, fifty-mile-long stretch of fast-flowing waterway that separates the two islands, soon appeared beneath us. Looking towards the north, on the eastern side of this narrow silvery passage, one sees the wooded hills, the dense patches of vivid green jungle, and the open swampy plains of Melville Island. To the west, on the Bathurst Island side of the entrance, dense plantations of coco-nut palms occupy the foreground. There are cleared fields with a wall of forest beside them, white roofs among the palms, and beyond again are thickly-timbered heights.

DENSE mangroves, of a deeper green than that of forest or jungle foliage, give contrast at the water's edge on either side of the narrow strait, which, a silver streak in the blue distance, leads on to the sea, faintly visible far beyond at the height at which we were flying. The tide runs through this strait like a mill-race; but at the moment it was dead-water, and, with sail set, a large dug-out canoe was making across from Melville to
177 Bathurst Island. As the 'plane banked round preparatory to landing, I saw, beyond the canoe and across the strait, the iron roof of the only European dwelling on Melville Island.

It was formerly the permanent camp of Joe Cooper, a famous buffalo-hunter; but, now, since Cooper's death, even this solitary outpost has long been deserted. It is more than a century since the old military settlement of Fort Dundas, at the northern end of Apsley Strait, was abandoned. Nothing of the fort now remains except a few heaps of stone, and, buried in thick scrub, the grass-grown brickwork that faced the surrounding deep trench. The area of Melville Island is 2,240 square miles.
131 Bathurst Island is only half as large. Although Melville
797 Island may, some day, come within the scope of North Australian settlement schemes, the major part of Bathurst Island is vested in perpetuity in the authorities of the Mission of the Sacred Heart, and the latter island will remain, fortunately almost entirely in its virgin state, a sanctuary alike for man and beast.

797 We taxied to a standstill on the well-kept landing-ground of the Sacred Heart Mission in the presence of many spectators. Notified of the time of our arrival by means of the wireless

[p. 14(A)]

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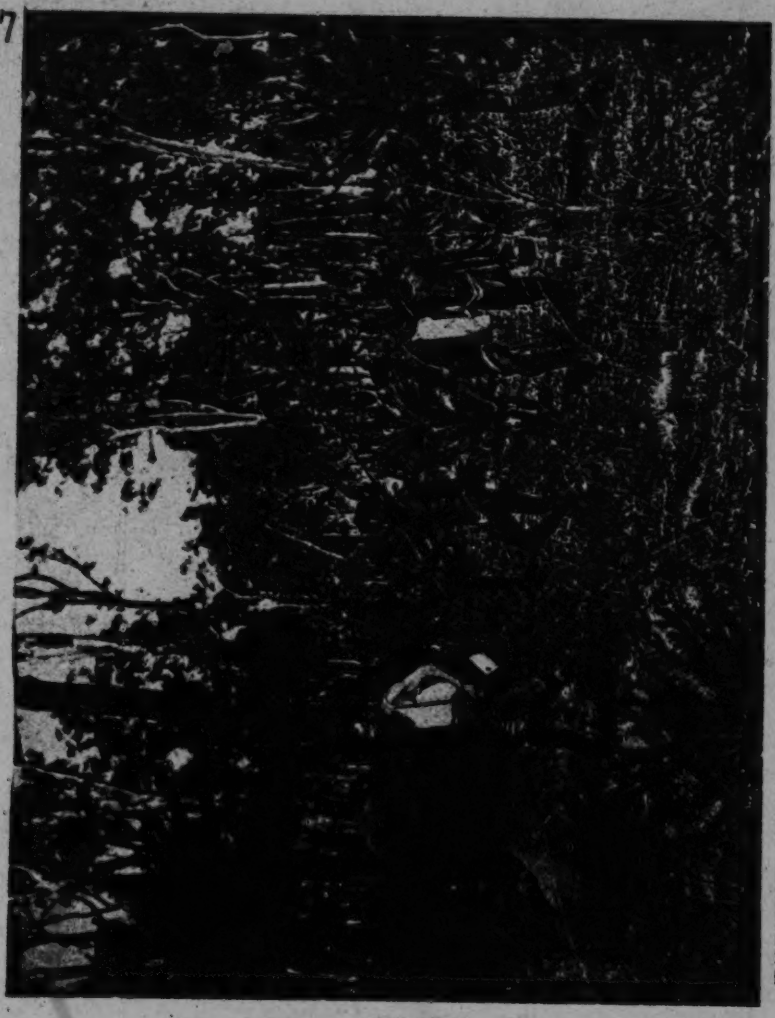

WALKABOUT'S CAMERAMAN GOES ON A "WALKABOUT" THROUGH TYPICAL BATHURST ISLAND COUNTRY.

[p. 19(c)]